

OXFORD, W^m I
A
A LETTER to a Friend,

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Concerning a

French Invasion.

To Restore the

Late King JAMES to his Throne.

AND

What may be expected from him, should
he be Successful in it.

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A LETTER TO A FRIEND

IT IS MY DUTY

TO MY FRIEND

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A Letter to a Friend, &c.

sir,

IN your last you seem much concerned about the French Invasion, and desirous to know what I think may probably be expected from the Late King, should he prove so successful, as to recover his Throne; and what English Subjects are bound in Conscience to do, should he Land in *England*, and demand his Right.

The last is a material Question, but I wonder how you came to ask the First, as if it could be any Question what the Late King will do, if he were restored by Power to his Crown: For I think it past all doubt, that he will do as he did before, only in all probability a great deal worse: And you remember how that was; for Arbitrary Power and Popery are of too great Concernment, and have left too frightful an impression behind them, to be so soon forgot; and this will go a great way towards an answer to your second Question, unless you think we are bound to take King *James*, and a French Government, and a French Popery with him; which I shal not easily be perswaded to; and I believe, there are not many English Protestants will.

But to Answer your Questions distinctly. As to the *First*, When we see what the late King *James* has done, what reason have we to expect, that should he return with Power, he would ever do otherwise? Is he more obliged now by his Protestant Subjects, than he was before? Can he make fairer Promises, than he did before? Is he less Zealous for Popery, or grown more out of Conceit with Arbitrary Power? Or will he be less able to make himself Arbitrary, and set up Popery when he returns a Conqueror? For I take it for granted he must conquer first, because King *William* won't abdicat nor steal away, and the Power that Conquers, will give Laws and Religion to the Conquer'd.

I know there are two Things pretended, as a Foundation for better hopes. *First*, That the late King is now sensible that the English Nation will never bear Popery, nor Arbitrary Power, and that he has suffered so much by these Attempts already, that he will never venture the like again. *Secondly*, The great Merits of the Non-swearers Clergy and Gentry, which will atone for the Church of *England*, and make him their sure and fast Friend, Patron and Defender, especially if those who have been too forward in complying with the late Revolution, shall expiate the Crime by an early Repentance, and a vigorous Assistance to restore him to his Throne.

First, As for the *first*, there are too many Answers to be given to it, to hinder it from being the least probable ground of Hope; though Hope it self is, *Relincerta nomen*, so very uncertain, especially when we guess only at the Inclinations of Princes, that Lives, and Fortunes, and Liberties, and Religion, are not to be ventured on it, against former Experience:

But to let that pass, pray consider what the true Import of this Argument is; for it amounts to this, that all Men will learn by Experience; that Men will not venture on those things a second time, which have proved fatal to them once; that Princes will certainly for ever after dislike such Counsels and Measures, as have already shaken their Thrones, and made their Crowns fall from their Heads.

Now we may Flatter our selves with such Hopes as these, which may upon some account be called reasonable Hopes, because there is great Reason it should be so; but yet they so often fail, that there is no Reason to rely upon them. The Repentance of dying Sinners and of undone Prodigals, who return to their old Sins again, if they recover their Health, or find new Treasures to waste, confutes such Expectations. Sufferings rarely cure a vehement Love and fond Passion for any thing, which is the Case of old habitual Sinners; and no Man can be fonder of any Vice, than some Princes are of Unlimited and Arbitrary Power.

And when this is joyned with a resolved and inflexible Temper, which scorns to yield, and had rather be undone a Thousand Times, than owne, retract, or amend a Fault: Such Misfortunes do but whet Revenge, and make them swell as a River does when its Current is stopped, which flows with a more rapid and foaming Stream, when it has once forced its way.

Especially when Superstition is the prevailing Ingredient, which fires the Spirits, and raises imaginary Scenes of Glory out of the Loss of Crowns and Kingdoms: And what will such a Prince if he ever recover his Throne and Power, forfeit the Glory of losing his Kingdoms again, by deserting the Cause for which he lost them before? No Man can certainly tell, how Superstition will Act, nor how it would Reason: Especially when the Consciences of Princes are under such Directors, as will venture their Crowns for them over and over, to carry on their own Designs, and know how to Expound Providence to Flatter Superstition. And then the Recovery of his Throne may be made a better Argument, and a stronger Obligation to revive and prosecute his old Designs than the fear of losing it again can be to make him desist.

And to make this yet more demonstrative, with reference to the Late King, we ought to consider, That this is not the first Tryal he has had, and that this Consideration has done him no good.

He saw before what his Father King *Charles* the First suffered, only for some Attempts towards Arbitrary Power, and for meer Jealousies and Suspicions of his favouring Popery: He lost his Kingdoms and his Life, and his Sons suffered a long and hard Exile. *Charles* the Second indeed took warning by this, and though possibly he might be big with the same Designs, yet would he not venture too far, nor discover himself too openly, for fear of Travelling again, as he used to speak: But King *James* had not Patience to conceal his Inclinations, till he came to the Crown; and that had like to have cost him his Crown, before he had it; and yet this was not sufficient to caution him against those violent Methods he afterwards used to advance Popery, which were so seasonably defeated by the happy arrival of our present Sovereign, whom God long preserve: And those who are so desirous to try him again in *England*, as they have lately done in *Ireland*, to their full Satisfaction, if they could try only for themselves, should have my free Consent to make the Experiment.

Have not the poor Irish Protestants made it to their Cost, even since this very Revolution, from whence, and from the Wisdom he must needs have Learned by it, this miraculous Change in Him is now expected? And did they find any such Change in him, unless for the worse? And yet, if ever, then he was upon his good Behaviour, when he wanted their Assistance to secure his Possession of that Kingdom, and to Recover his other Dominions. And when, in Reason, it might have been expected, that, whatever Resentments he had, he would have thought it his Interest to have treated Protestants with greater Tenderneffe and Respects. But if the Necessity of his own Affairs could not obtain

ain this from him; what must Protestants expect, if he return with Power? And though some Protestants here in England, seem not to be at all affected with this Experiment, yet it hath made such an impression upon the Protestants in Ireland, that they are for ever cursed of their Fondness, and have not the least Curiosity left to make any further Tryals.

It is pretended indeed, in Excuse of this, that he was then under the Government of French Ministers and Counsels, under the Power of Irish Priests and Papists, and so was not at Liberty to follow his own Inclinations: I should be very glad of a good Argument to prove, that he had better Inclinations. But however, what Comfort is this to Protestants, that he has better Inclinations, but is not his own Master? For if he must never shew any Kindness to Protestants, it is no matter what his Inclinations are: And can any Man imagine, That if the French King by Force and Power place him on the Throne, he will be less under his Government than he was in Ireland? The French King, among many other wise Maxims, has this, I am sure, for one, Never to make a King, without making him his own vassal; and the Power that can make him a King, can make him his Slave; so that it is to no purpose to enquire what King James will do, but what King Lewis will do, if King James returns?

Secondly, As for the great Merites of the Non-swearing Clergy and Laity, I greatly suspect, that neither the Late King James nor King Lewis will think them so great as they themselves do. Their Merit must consist either in their Principles, or in their Practices. And we will briefly consider both.

Their meritorious Principle is this, That the Rights of Princes, especially of Hereditary Princes, to their Thrones, are so Sacred and Inviolable, that as they cannot forfeit them to their own Subjects by any Male-administration, so neither can they by any Provocations, or by any success of War, forfeit them to any other Princes: That while such a Prince, or any Legal Heir is living, no other Prince can have any Right to his Throne, nor must his Subjects owne and submit to any other Prince, as their Sovereign Lord.

Now as much as this Principle seems to Flatter Princes, and to make their Thrones Eternal, I am apt to suspect, that no Prince, who considers the just Consequence of Things, can think it so very meritorious; for it is a very dangerous Principle to Weak and Unfortunate Princes, and an intolerable Restraint upon the Aspiring and Ambitious. It is Dangerous to the Unfortunate, because it lays a Necessity upon the Conquerour to take away his Life, if he can, as well as his Throne, since he cannot lose his Throne, without losing his Life, though most Princes would rather chuse to have them parted, than lose both together; And how do they think King Lewis will like this Principle, which stands in the way of his Glory, and preaches Restitution to him of all those Dominions, whose legal Heirs are living; which teaches the Subjects of other Princes to deny him Fealty and Obedience, and to Conspire with their Legal Princes against him. I doubt not but he likes the Principle as little as he would like the Practice, and that our Non-swearers would quickly understand, were they the Subjects of his New Conquests, which God grant England may never be.

Indeed, how great a Complement soever this Principle may be thought to Princess, it can have no Merit, because, though it may in some junctures do them hurt, it never did, and never can do them any service. It never yet hindred a Revolution, and never can make one; and the Reason is plain, because no Princes, and very few Subjects, do believe it, and practice upon it. If a Prince have a just Cause of War against another Prince, he makes no Scruple, if he Conquers, to take his Crown; and the Subjects of such a conquered Prince make no Scruple of Conscience to submit to the Conquerour; though

though sometimes a personal Kindness for a just and Indulgent Prince, and a Concernment for their own Liberties and Fortunes, may make them uneasy under it, and glad of the first Opportunity to do themselves and their Prince Right.

The Truth is, Princes have no Reason to like this Principle; for, were it true, they could have no Remedies against the Injuries of Neighbour Princes; they might indeed Fight and Conquer, but they had better let it alone, if they must not take the Throne, which their Sword has won; for it is only the Fear of Conquest, and losing their Crowns, when they are Conquered, that can keep Princes in Awe, and bring them to Just and Equal Terms; and if no Prince must lose his Crown, because no Prince must take it, it will be impossible to beat an Injurious and Obstinate Prince into good Terms; and, I believe, Princes will as soon be perswaded, That it is Unlawful to make War, as that it is Unlawful to seize a conquered Crown, and will think one as meritorious a Principle as the other.

And it is certain, Subjects have less Reason to like this Principle, because it makes them Slaves and Sacrifices even to the Misfortunes of their Prince. A Prince, when he is Conquer'd, or sees that he must be Conquer'd, may escape by Flight, but a whole Nation cannot run away; and if they could, have no Reason to leave their Country and their Fortunes behind them: And yet, according to this Principle, they must not submit nor swear Allegiance to the Conquerour, while the Prince who has forsaken them lives, though they cannot Secure their Lives and Fortunes without it. But Nature and Common Sense is too powerful for the Sophistry of such Principles, and those who cannot Reason, can feel what they are to do in such Cases. The Loyalest Subjects, when no personal Obligations, or secret Interests determine them otherwise, will save themselves by Submission, when they cannot defend their Prince by their Arms; and do not think they do ill in it: And I suppose Princes do not think so neither, because they expect the same from the Subjects of other Princes in the like Circumstances; and such an Universal Consent both of Princes and Subjects, when there is no Law of God or Nature against it, makes it a standing Law in all Revolutions, which both Princes and Subjects must submit to. So that this Principle, were it never so true, can do no Service, and therefore can have no Merit in this World, because there are so few that believe it; that they are not hands enough either to keep a Prince on his Throne, or to restore him to it. All our Non-swearers could not hinder the late Revolution, nor can they make another: They are enow to make a noise, especially if the Loud and Zealous Ladies of that Side be reckoned in; but other Hands and other Pretences must do their Work, if ever they hope to see it done; and then no thanks to their Principle for it. Whatever Reward their future Services may deserve, princes themselves will not think that their Principles deserve any.

Let us then now consider the Merit of their Actions, and what Opinion the Late King is like to have of that, if he should return.

I suppose, they will be contented he should forget their Merits towards him, while he was on the Throne; especially about reading his Declaration; as likewise their Tower and their Westminster-Hall Merits; which were indeed very great, and did deserve and would have had a better Reward from a better Hand, had they not rendered themselves incapable of it. But sure they don't expect the late King should Reward them for such Services. He knew that this raised that general discontent, which occasioned that General Revolt, which cost him Three Crowns. And if all their Merits can Expiate this Guilt, they come off well; and those had need be very Extraordinary Me-

its, which have first so great a Guilt to Expiate, before they can pretend to Merit. Could their Non-swearers restore him to his Throne again, it would but just undo what they had done, which is no more than their Duty, and therefore cannot merit, no, not so much as a Pardon, though it may make them capable of it, if they fall into merciful Hands. But still there are Four Years Exile, and the losse of Three Crowns, and the Expence of so much Blood and Treasure; the Dishonour of so many Defeats, and the Ruine of Ireland to be accounted for; and how can they make Restitution for all this? Which they must do before they can lay Claim to Merit.

Let all this then be forgot, for it is their Interest it should; but they are very sanguine Men, if they hope it will. Whence then will they date their Merits?

When it was certainly known, that the Prince of Orange, now our Gracious Sovereign, was ready to Land, they seemed as well pleased with it as other Men; and refused, when they were pressed to it by the Late King, to declare their Abhorrence of it; but, instead of that, took upon them to give Advice, and to publish it when they had done: In which Advice they recommended almost every particular of the Prince's Declaration, complained of the same Abuses, and advised the Calling of a Parliament to redresse them; as if the Princes Declaration, and their Advice had been drawn by the same Pen, and the Advice had been published on purpose to second the Declaration. This, I suppose, they will not reckon among their Merits neither: And if they can excuse what was so hastily done at Guildhall, before the Late King was gone out of the Land, they may very well be contented no more should be said of that.

The only Merit then they have to pretend, is their refusing the Oath of Allegiance to King William and Queen Mary, and forfeiting their Ecclesiastical, Civil, or Military Preferments for it: But what is this to the Late King? Is this done out of Kindness to him or his Government? Would they not have been contented to have lived peaceably and quietly, as they themselves professed, could they have kept their Preferments, and have been excused from the New Oaths? And how do they merit of him, by refusing the Oaths with the Loss of their Preferments, if they did not for his sake, but for another and better Reason, for fear of being Damned? God may Reward this, but King James is not beholden to them. Will they be better Subjects hereafter? will they read his Declaration, when he Returns? Will they make his Will their Law? Will they submit to his next Ecclesiastical Commission, and give up their Colledges and Churches to Priests and Jesuits? Will they be content to take him the very same Man that he went away, and to serve him in his own way? Will they no more fill the Nation with the noise and fears of Popery and Arbitrary Power? Will they turn Papists themselves, or stand by patiently, and give leave to his Priests to pervert Protestants as fast as they can? Will they promise to demean themselves with more respect towards the Kings Religion, and to leave off their old sawciness of Printing and Preaching against Popery? This indeed would bid fair for Merit, but if they oppose his Methods of Government, and his Glorious Designs, as much as they do King William's Right; if it be only a Title they boggle at, if this be all that makes them uneasy at the Change, their not Swearing does him no Service: He could have kept his Kingdom upon these terms before, but he scorned it, and so he will those, who to save their Consciences or their Honours, and to recover their Preferments, would have him upon these terms again.

As much as some Men glory in their steddiness to Principles, which is certainly a very Honorable thing, and an excellent degree of Virtue, when the Principles are plain and certain.

certain, yet few Princes (to be sure, not the late King) like such a steddiness to Principles, as opposes their Designs; a stubborn, inflexible Conscience, is a very unusual thing, and Kings do not like such Subjects as dare oppose a King upon the Throne, whatever the Cause be: So that I suspect, their very Boldness and Resolution in opposing their present Majesties upon a meer point of Law, will be thought no Virtue fit to be rewarded by a Prince; who would make his Will Superiour to a Law.

And if the Merit of the Non-Swearers is likely to vanish into nothing, especially when there is no occasion any longer to court and flatter them, and Priests and Jesuits have free liberty to comment on their Merits; what Merit will those Men have to plead who were forward and zealous in the Revolution, have Sworn Allegiance to their present Majesties, have served them in their Armies and Navies, at home and abroad. There is no doubt, but they shall have fair Promises and good words at present, and shall be remembered hereafter, when there is occasion.

But suppose the Merits of the Non-Swearing or For-Swearing Clergy and Laity who will help forwards another Revolution, should be acknowledged to be very great, what probability is there, that the Church of *England* should fare ever the better for it, when Popery and Arbitrary Power stand in the way? past Experience gives no great Encouragement to hope this. King *Lewis* was as much obliged to his protestant Subjects of France, as it is possible for any King to be; for they set the Crown upon his Head; and how he has rewarded them, all the world rings of it. The late King was not much less beholden to the Church of *England*, when they so vigorously opposed the Bill of Exclusion; and how he also rewarded them, we all lately saw and felt. And shall Protestants after this, think of obliging such Princes by their Merits? They understand better, that Merit is no Protestant Doctrine, and that there can be none out of the Church of Rome. And why should any body expect that which cannot be. Nay should the late King return again, and be as much at the Devotion of his Non-Swearing Friends, as they promise themselves he will be; I very much doubt what the Church of *England* will gain by this. If we may guess at the Spirit of the Party by the bitter Zeal, which inspires all their Writings, I can expect nothing from them, but as fierce Persecution of the Church of *England*, as ever it suffered from Papists or Fanaticks, excepting Smithfield Fires; which possibly may be exchanged for Tyburn. All who live in the Communion of the Church of *England*, as now Established, are in their account and constant Language, no better than Hereticks and Schismaticks, and Perjured Apostates, much greater Crimes than the Traditores were guilty of, which was the only pretence for the Donatist Schism and Persecution. They seem to comfort themselves under their present Sufferings, more with the sweet hopes of Revenge, than any great expectations of future Rewards; that they shall live to see the Swearing

*Apol. for the new
Separats.*

B. of York, who is particularly named, cannot escape them, I doubt they will make but very few exceptions. And is not this a great encouragement to any who have complied with the present Government, to help the Men to Power again? Must not the Nobility and Gentry expect their Share of Vengeance, as well as the Clergie? And is not the Church of *England* then in a hopeless state, which must be purged and reformed into Jacobite Principles, and by a Jacobite Spirit?

These are all very sensible roots (as far as we can reason about such matters) how the good is to be expected from the return of the late King with a French Power: He must return the same Man he went, and then Popery and Arbitrary Power must return with him; nay, he must return much worse than he went, because he must return more a Vassal of France, which I suppose will not mend the Condition of English Subjects, during his Reign.

These things ought to be well considered; for if his Government was so uneasy before, and gave us such a frightful prospect, as made the Nation very willing to part with him, when he thought fit to leave them; it would seem very strange to bystanders, should they now grow fond of his return, when it is certain if he does return, and returns by the Methods now intended, Popery and Arbitrary Power must be more Triumphant than ever.

He wanted nothing but power to make himself Absolute, and to make us all Papists, or Martyrs, or Refugees; and that he will now have: For if a French Power can conquer us, it will make him as Absolute as the French King will let him be; or to speak properly, it will make him, though not an Absolute Prince, yet an Absolute Viceroy, and Minister of France: He will Administer an Absolute Power and Government, under the influence and direction of French Councils: and then we know what will become of the Liberties and Religion of England. And have we so long disdained the thoughts of subjection to France? Has a French League been thought such a National Grievance? Has the pretence of a War with France been found such an excellent expedient to get Money of English Parliaments? Has the expectation of it fired English spirits, and upon occasion filled our Armies and Navies, without need of Pressing or fear of Drum? Have we to detest the French Cruelties to Protestants? And shall we now so willingly stoop to the yoke, and think it a great favour that they will vouchsafe to Conquer us? Let us never complain hereafter, that our Chains pinch and gail us, when we our selves are ready with as much joy and thankfulness to put them on. And whatever some fancy, they will find it a very easy and natural thing, for the late King, to return by Force and Power, to make himself Absolute by law: Princes always gain new Powers by the intellectual opposition of Subjects: If they lose their Crowns, and recover them again, they receive them with an addition of some brighter Jewels, and turn disputed Prerogatives into Legal and undoubted Rights. Thus we know it was when King Ch. 2. Returned from a long Exile, all the New Acts and Declarations were made in favour of the Crown, and Subjects bound to their good Behaviour, as fast as Laws could bind them; for in all such Revolutions, those who suffered with, or for their Prince, return with zeal and resentment; and take care in the first place to establish all such Prerogatives of the Crown, as were disputed before, and to grant such new Powers as they think are wanting. And others there are always forward to make their fortunes by Complementing the returning Prince; and to expiate their former crimes by a forward and flaming Loyalty; and the rest are over awed and frightened into a compliance; and thus it is commonly seen, that betwixt zeal, and Flattery, and fear, the King increases in Power, and the People forfeit their Liberties; and we must not expect that it should be otherwise now, should the late King return.

The first Complement that must be made to him, is a Jacobite Parliament, and God knows what such a Parliament will do! Will they deny him a Toleration for papists, the repeal of the Test the forfeitures, or surrenders of Charters, and a new Regulation of Corporations? Will they dispute, nay, will they not declare his Dispensing power and approve his Ecclesiastical Commissions? Will they make any scruple to declare the

the Legitimacy of the Prince of Wales, or to leave the manner of his Education to those Popery who will certainly breed him up in Popery? Will they not take care for new Jacobites and new Tests, to renounce and abhorre all the several Hypotheses and Principles of Government, which have been urged to justify our Submission and Allegiance to their present Majesty which lies? And when they have done this, How easy will it be for a down right Popish Parliament, which will be the next step that will be made, to do all the rest?

It is very evident what advantages the Priests and Jesuits will have in such a juncture as this, to make Profelytes, while the People are in a fright, and grown giddy with such frequent Revolutions; and those, who in the late Reign, were the great Advocates of the Protestant Cause, are disgrac'd at Court, threaten'd into silence, their Authority weaken'd, and their Persons reproach'd both by Papists and Jacobites. Numbers of Converts was their great want before, and the press and the pulpit their great hindrance; but Jacobites will by natural instinct learn more Loyalty, and others will be taught it, as Gideon once taught the men of Succoth with Briars and Thorns. And there never was such an opportunity since the Reformation for a plentiful Harvest of Converts, as this would be like to prove. And who can bear the thoughts of this, who has any Compassion for the Souls of Men, any Zeal for the Church of England, or any concern to preserve and propagate the true Faith and Worship of Christ to posterity?

All this is upon a supposition of the late King's return, which I declare to you I am not afraid of, though it is fit to mind those men who are so fond of it, what they may reasonably expect, if he should return; which possibly may abate their zeal in this cause, and that may prevent the mischiefs of an attempt; for without a hopeful Conspiracy in England, the French King is too wary to make such an Attempt.

But if they have any love to their Countrey, any pity left in them for the lives and fortunes of English Protestants, I beseech them to consider what the Calamities and Desolations of Civil War will be; for that it must end in, if there be an Invasion from abroad strengthened with a powerful Conspiracy at home: King William, as I said before, will not Desert or Abdicate; for I never heard of a Prince, who had ventured so much to rescue a Kingdom out of so great a danger, that would so easily expose it again to the same, or a greater danger, And surely the late King does not expect he should, for he knows him too well: So that if they look for such another Revolution, to turn King William out, as brought him in, they will, in all probability, be mistaken. There are too many Persons of Honour and Fortune engaged in this Cause, who know the late King too well, to take his Word; and were it possible to wheedle men of Fortune and Sense, the genius and spirit of the Nation is against them: And that which could make the late Revolution, will probably be able to prevent this.

It must then come to Blows if an attempt be made: and the fortune of one Battel may not decide it; and those who are too young to remember the desolations which the late Civil Wars in England made, let them look into Ireland, and see to what a heap of rubbish a flourishing and fruitful Countrey is reduced by being the scene of a Three Years War.

It is made a popular pretence to raise discontents, and to make people disaffected to the present Government, that the Taxes for maintaining this War are grown so intolerable, and there is no prospect of an end of them: Now I must confess, that the Taxes fall very heavy upon some, and am sorry that the present posture of our Affairs does require it, and that there can be no easier ways found to supply the plain and pressing necessities of the State: But we ought to consider, that still all this is infinitely easier than Popery and French Slavery, if we regard only our Estates. The Annual exactions of the

Church of Rome, (besides all the cheating ways their Priests had to get Money,) while Popery was the Religion of England, used to be complained of as a National Grievance, and a heavier Tax upon the Subject, than all the King's Revenues: And if those who complain of our Taxes, were but one month in France to see the Poverty and Misery, which the French Government has brought upon them, they could come home very well contented to pay Taxes, and to fight against the French too. We are Free Subjects, not Slaves; we are taxed by our own Representatives, who tax themselves as well as us; and this not by the Arbitrary Will of the Prince. We pay for our own Defence and Preservation, as all people ought to do; and while we do not pay near so much as our Religion, and Lives, and Liberties are worth, and have left wherewithal to maintain our selves, we have no such great reason to complain.

But how heavy soever Taxes are, are they like a Civil War? Like the dread and terrors of an Enemies Army, or of our own? Are they like having our Houses filled with soldiers; or which is worse, burnt or plundered? Are they like losing our Friends, our Fathers Husbands, or Children; by whose kindness or labours we subsisted? in a word, Are they like the Spoyle of Harvest, or the Desolation of a whole Countrey? And can we be contented to see England again the Seat of War? It is certain in our present circumstances it cannot be made so, unless we our selves please: France has too many Enemies, to think of Conquering England without factions at home; and were not for them, we need not fear its united Force; and I hope considering men, of what persuasion soever they be, will not think it worth the while to ruine their Countrey by a Civil War, to purchase a French Slavery and Popery; two very dear things, could we purchase them never so cheap.

What I have said hitherto, concerns only England; but it becomes us to look a little broad, and consider, what a fatal Influence a French Conquest of England will have upon the Affairs of all Europe. That it is not mere Justice and Honour that makes the French King espouse the Cause of the late King James, his Encroachments and Usurpations on his Neighbours will witness, He has no scruples of Conscience about the Rights of other Princes; all he can get is his own. But England was formerly a Friend and Confederate, at least, not an Enemy; and now the Power of England, (which the French have never had reason to despise) is in the hands of a King who owes the French King a good turn, and will not, I hope, die in his debt. This checks his ambitious designs, gives life and spirit to the Confederacy, threatens to make him restore what he has taken, and what he keeps by meer force and violence, and to reduce him within his Ancient Bounds, and to the Ancient Constitution of the French Government; and he knows while King William possesses the English Throne, and keeps up the Confederacy, he must not expect to get much more, and may be in constant danger of losing what he has gotten.

This makes the French King so concerned to restore the late King James to the Throne of England, to get rid of a Formidable Enemy, and to strengthen himself with the Alliance of a Powerful Friend; for England will probably turn the scales, on which side soever it happens to be: And there is no doubt, but the Arms of England must be devoted to the service of France, if a French Power should place the late K. in his Throne again; let any English Protestant, who can think coolly of things, consider what a malignant spect this would have upon the Liberties of Europe, and on the whole Protestant Interest. The Arms or the Money of Fr. has hitherto been an equal Match, at least for all the Confederates: while he has found other employment for the Imperial & English Forces; but thanks be to God, the K. of Engl. & the English Forces are now at leisure to attend his

Motions; those Forces which beat him at the *Boyn*, at *Athlone*, at *Agrim*, at *Lymrick*, in a word, which beat him out of *Ireland*, and have now got a habit of beating the French. And it is no wonder that he is not fond of such company in *Flanders*, but endeavours to find some new work for them at home. And if he can but send them home again, and embroil us in a Civil War, that is one great point gained; but if he proves successful in his Attempt, he makes *England* his own, and will turn their Arms upon the Confederats; and what can them stand in the way? What should hinder him from being the sole and absolute Monarch of the West? And then it is easie to read the Fate Protestants.

Thus, Sir, I have freely told you, what I apprehend will be the necessary and unavoidable effects of a French Conquest. I pretend not to prophesie, nor to demonstration in such cases; but what I have said, has all the appearances of probability, all the degrees of moral certainty that any thing of this nature can have; and this is the only Rule in the matters by which wise men are to judge and act.

And this has appeared a plain and easie Answer to your Second Question, what English Subjects are bound in Conscience to do, in case the late King should Land in *England* with French Forces to demand his Crown.

Now there are two sorts of persons concerned in this question: 1. Those who have not sworn Allegiance to King *William* and Queen *Mary*, but account the late King *James* as much their King, as he was when he sat upon the Throne: and that their obligations to him are the same now that ever they were. 2. Those who have sworn Allegiance to King *William* and Queen *Mary*. And there are two parts of this Question. 1. Whether they are bound in conscience to assist the late King, if he return? 2. Whether it be lawful for them to oppose him, and fight against him?

As for the first part of this Question, and as far as it concerns the Non-swearers, I shall ask them two or three Questions, and leave them to answer them themselves.

1. The first question is, Whether they can think themselves bound in Conscience upon any pretence whatever, to fight for Popery against the Protestant Faith and Worship; that is, (as they must confesse, if they are Protestants) to fight for Heresie and Idolatry against the true Faith and Worship of Christ; or to fight for Antichrist, and against Christ? Can any consideration make this lawful? If nothing can (as I will venture to take it for granted, that nothing can) then whatever duty they may fancy they still owe to their Abdicated Prince, it cannot be their Duty to fight for him, when they cannot fight for him, without fighting against Christ and his Religion; though they must not fight against their Prince for Christ, because Christ in such cases require his Disciples to suffer, not to fight for him; yet it does not follow, that they must fight for their Prince against Christ, to bring a Persecution upon his faithful Disciples, and to contribute what they can to extirpate the Name and the Religion of Protestants out of *Europe*.

Do they think themselves bound in Conscience to fight for their Prince, against the Laws and Liberties of these Countrey, as well as against the Faith and Worship of Christ? Let the Rights of Princes be never so Sacred, have the rest of mankind no Rights but only Princes? Is there no such thing as Justice due to our selves, nor to our Fellow Subjects? have the Free-born Subjects of *England*, no Natural, no Legal Rights? And is there any Law of God or man, to fight for our Prince, against the Laws and Liberties of our Countrey, which are the Measures and boundaries of that Duty which we owe to Princes? that is, to fight for our Prince, against the rule of our duty and obedience to Princes; when our Prince, and the Laws and Liberties of our Countrey are on contrary sides, tho we should grant them, (according to their own Principles) that we must

not fight against our Prince for our Laws and Liberties, yet no more must we fight for our Prince against our Laws and Liberties: It is abundantly enough, to be Passive in such cases; but a Nation which fights against its own Laws and Liberties, is *Felo de se*, guilty of the worst kind of Self-Murder. Can any English man, whatever opinion he has of the late King's Right, think himself bound in conscience to maintain his Right; by giving up his Countrey to France? To make him King, and all his Subjects French Slaves? For can any Prince have more Right to be King of England, than the Kingdom of England has to be England?

Is it not an unaccountable tenderneſſe & ſcrupuloſity of Conſcience, to be ſo concerned for any one Prince's Right, as to ſacrifice the Rights and Liberties of all the Princes in Europe, to his? To ſet him upon the Throne, to drive all other Princes from theirs? We are Citizens of the World, as well as Subjects of England, & have our Obligations to Mankind, & to other Princes, as well as to our own; & though our obligation to no one other Prince is ſo great, as to our own, yet the publick good of mankind, or of a great part of the world, is a more ſacred obligation, than the particular Interſt of our own Prince or Countrey; much leſſe then can the Right of any particular Prince, be it what it will, ſtand in competition with the Rights and Liberties of our own Countrey, and of all Europe beſides.

It is no more purpoſe to diſpute with men who do not feel the Force of this Argument at the firſt hearing, than to reaſon with blind men about Colours; they have no ſenſe left, nothing but a ſtupid and flavish Loyalty; all things, tho never ſo ſacred, muſt give place to this; the care of Religion, the love of the Countrey, their Juſtice and Charity to all mankind, muſt vail to their ſenſeleſſe miſtake of the true meaning of this word Loyalty; by which they will needs underſtand an Abſolute Obedience, without Limitation or Reſerve; when moſt certainly, it ſignifies no more than Obedience according to Law.

2. I would aſk them, What they would think themſelves bound to do in ſuch caſes, were the late K. upon the Throne again? Unleſſe they have chang'd their minds (& then they are not ſo ſteady to Principles, as they pretend to be.) we may very reaſonably gueſſe, what they would do, by what they did while he was upon the Throne. It is certain they ſo much diſlik'd his open deſigns of Popery & Arbitrary Power, that they oppoſed him as far as they durſt, & would not Fight for him to keep him on the Throne; nay, by their Examples & Counſels, they had ſo influenc'd the Army, that they would not Fight for him neither, & ſo poſſeſſed the Countrey, that the Nobility and Gentry took Arms, & declared for the P. of Orange, which they thought they might very well do, when the Biſhops would not declare againſt him. This was then thought conſiſtent enough with the High-Tory-Loyalty; & yet if they were not then bound to Fight for him to keep him on his Throne, I am at a great loſſe to know, how it comes to be their duty now to Fight for him to reſtore him to it: He was certainly their K. then, and yet they would not Fight for him, no not to defend his Perſon, Crown and Dignity. And tho they call him their K. ſtill, it is certain he is not K. of England, whatever right they may think he has to be ſo; & therefore to fight for him now, is not to fight for the K, but to fight to make him K. again. But to let that paſſe, ſuppoſe him to be their K, ſince they will have him ſo. How do they come to be more oblig'd to fight for him now he is out of the Throne, than they were to fight for him while he was in it? If they think it their duty to fight for their K. againſt the Religion, the Laws, & the Liberties of their Countrey, it was their duty ſo to have fought for him then; if they do not think this, it cannot be their duty to fight for him now.

But they did not expect what followed; they deſired to have their Laws & Liberties ſecured, but not that he ſhould loſe his Crown: I believe very few did then expect what followed

lowed, no more than they do now consider, what will follow; But since he would leave his Crown, Who could help it? For no body took it from him.

3. Let me then ask them another question; Whether they would think themselves bound in Conscience to fight for him, did they verily believe, that if he recovered his Throne, he would as zealously promote Popery and Arbitrary Power, as he did before? If they say they would not, they have been at their *non putarem* once already; a second oversight in the same kind, would be worse than the first. If they say they would, I give them over, as professed Enemies to the true Religion, and the Liberties of Mankind;

This I hope may satisfy the Non-swearers, if they will coolly and seriously consider it, that they are not bound in Conscience to fight for the late K; nay that they are as much bound in Conscience not to fight for him, as they are bound not to fight against the Protestant Religion, and Civil Liberties not only of England, but of all *Europe*.

2. As for those who have Sworn Allegiance to K. *William & Q. Mary*; besides all the former considerations, they are under the obligations of an Oath, not to fight against their present Majesties, whose Sworn Subjects & Leigemen they are. For let them expound Faith & True Allegiance, to as low a sense as possibly they can, the least that they ever could make of it, is to live quietly & peaceably under their Government; not to attempt any thing against their Persons, or Crowns, to hold any Correspondence with, nor to give any Assistance to their Enemies; & therefore to countenance a French Invasion, or to assist the late K. in recovering the Throne, which Their Majesties so well fill, and which they have Sworn not to dispossesse them of, must be downright Perjury. If they be sure that their Oaths to the late K. still oblige them, that indeed would make void the obligation of this Second Oath; but then they must be guilty of Perjury in taking it, and by the breaking of it will declare to all the world, that they deliberately, & wilfully Perjured themselves when they took it; & let them remember this, when they take Arms against Their Majesties, and let them expect that recompence which they deserve.

Those who took this, only as a Temporary Oath, which obliged them no longer than till the late K. should return into *England* again to demand his Crown, are guilty of Perjury, if they keep it no longer than till they have a promising opportunity to break it: For this is to mock God, & to deceive the Government by their Oaths: For no man can think that the meaning of the Oath was no more but this, 'I do Promise & swear to bear Faith & true Allegiance to K. *Wil. & Q. Mary*, till I have Power & Opportunity by the return of K. *James* with a French Army, to joyn his Forces, and to Assist him to recover his Throne. Those who will take and keep Oaths at this rate, we must leave to God: But nothing is more plain and certain, than that the New Oath of Allegiance obliges all, who have taken it, under the guilt of Perjury, at least not to fight for the late King against King *William* and Queen *Mary*.

And here I may very fairly conclude, without entering into any longer dispute about the lawfulness of fighting against a Foreign Army, though the late K. were at the Head of it; for were those, who scruple this, satisfied that they ought not to fight for him, their present Majesties have Friends enow, who are very well satisfied to fight against him; especially bringing along with him the greatest Enemies both to the Protestant Religion, and to the Civil Liberties, not only of the English Nation, but of all the Kingdoms and States of *Europe*. *France* it self not excepted.

However, this Letter is large enough already, and if I find you desire further satisfaction in this matter, especially about the late K. *James's* Declaration, which is lately come to my hands, you may expect a speedy account of it in a Second Letter, from.

Sir, Yours.

Φ, KP
Howey
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